1610

A LETTER to a Person of Honour, concerning the Kings disavowing the having been Married to the D. *of M's. Mother.*

My Lord,

AS you cannot but have seen his *Majesties Declaration*, wherein he *Renounceth* the having been *Married* to the *D.* of *M's.* Mother; so I believe you will not be displeased to have an account of the sence of the Thinking men about the Town concerning it. And this without either disguising, or concealing what is publickly discoursed, I shall, as becomes your *Lordships* servant, address my self to give you.

And in the first place; They say it is no surprize to them, that seeing the *D.* of *Y.* hath gotten the Ascendant of the King, he should hector him into, or at least extort from him the foresaid Declaration. For, can any imagine, that he who for some time renounced his own Wife, and had provided Persons to swear a familiarity with her which made her unworthy of being Dutchess of *York*; should scruple to importune the *King* to do as much by *Mrs. Walters*, tho it were never so demonstrable that he was married unto her. The course he practised himself, he may without any breach of Charity be thought ready to prescribe to others. And it may be, he thinks it will be some extenuation of what he did himself, if people can be brought to believe that it is a Disease natural to the Family, and which runs in a Blood. Now we all know, not only with what Asseverations the *D.* disclaimed his Marriage with *Mrs. Hide*, but with what reflexions upon her Chastity he did it. And yet the Proofs of the said Marriage were so evident, that he was necessitate at last to acknowledge it; and to own her for his Wife, after he had by himself, and many others, Proclaimed her for no better than a Common Whore. And I'm sure it left this Impression upon most Persons, That his Faith to Men was not very far to be relied on, seeing he made so slight of that Faith which he had plighted in an Ordinance of God to a harmless Lady.

Secondly, Most men do observe this difference between the

Kings Renouncing *Mrs. Waters*, and the *Dukes* Diſclaiming *Mrs. Hide*; That what the *Duke* did, was an Act of Inclination and Choice, whereas it is apparent, that what the *King* hath done, is the reſult of Dread and Fear. For, to uſe his *Majeſties* own expreſſion not long ago, *He was haraſſed out of his Life, by the importunity of his Brother*; & as He added, *He could rather chuſe to Die than Live ſo uneaſily as he did, while he withſtood their daily Sollicitations in this matter.* And as nothing made the *Duke* honeſt to *Mrs. Hide*, but the interpoſition of his *Majeſties* Authority, from a ſenſe of the Juſtneſs of the Ladies Complaint; ſo they believe the King is only Injurious through the Influence of others, and that when reſcued out of ill Hands, and left to himſelf, he will return to be Juſt. For though his *Majeſty* be a Prince of that clearneſs of Underſtanding, that they cannot baffle him by falſe Reaſonings, yet he hath ſo much of *James's* timidneſs, that they can huffe and over-awe him to things moſt oppoſite to his Judgment, as well as croſs to his Intereſt. And let me upon this occaſion remind your *Lordship* of a Story, of a *Scots* Nobleman to my *Lord Burleigh*, upon that wiſe Stateſman's deſiring a Character of King *James*, long before he aſcended the *Engliſh* Throne. If *your Lordship*, ſaith the blunt *Scotſman* know a *Jack-a napes*, you cannot but underſtand, that if I have him in my hands, I can make him bite you, whereas if you get him into your hands, you may make him bite me.

Thirdly, The whole Town is apprehenſive, that the King through endeavouring by this Act to ſecure himſelf in the Grace at leaſt forbearance of the *Duke* and Popiſh Party, will find in the Iſſue that inſtead thereof, he hath left himſelf naked and expoſed to their wrath and malice. Nor is there any thing more probable than that what the *King* calls and intends only for a *Declaration* to ſerve his preſent Occaſions, they will transform into his Laſt Will and Teſtament, to accomodate theirs. If *Queen Elizabeth*, when tempted to declare Her Succeſſor, declin'd it with this ſaying, That *ſuch an Act would be the digging her Grave before She were dead*; have we not great Cauſe to apprehend

prehend that the *King* having by this Act digg'd his own Grave, his Brother, or the Jesuites, under whose Government he is; will find hands to bring and put him into't, least through delay something should intervene that would fill it up again. 'Tis a pitty, that none would call to his Majesties Memory, that saying of *Tacitus*, *Suspectus semper invisusq; Dominanti qui proximus destinatur*. Which, by varying a little from the *Latine*, I will *English* thus; *That he ought to be always suspected, and carefully watched against by the Ruler, who most ardently hopes, and thinks himself in likelyhood to succeed him*. Statesmen in old Times reckoned it for a Maxime in Polliticks, that, *Nementio fieret Haredis vivo adhuc Principe; That while the Prince liveth, there ought not to be so much as a mentioning of any whose right it was to come after.* For as subtile *Tiberius* upbraided *Macro*, that he forsook the setting Sun, to worship the rising; so *King Charles*, may have in time, if he have not already, cause to object the same to some about him. That crafty Emperor knew more of the Art of self-preservation, than Crowned Heads in our dayes seem to do. For tho he had adopted *Germanicus* at the Command of *Augustus*, of whom he received the Empire, yet having a Son of his own, namely *Drusus*, He would never declare in favour of either so long as they lived, but Judged his own Safety to consist in leaving it doubtful whose Title to the Universal Monarchy was best. However (say most of his Majesties Subjects) tho we have not been able to prevent the King from this unwary Act, by which he hath stak't his Life to the pleasure of his Enemies, yet we will be kinder to him than he hath been to himself, and contribute all we can to his Security, and that is by letting the World know, That we'll Revenge his Death, by sacrificing the whole Popish party upon his Grave, in case he should come to an untimely *End*.

Fourthly, This Declaration would be received with less hesitation in the minds of People, if *Kings* and *Princes* were not made of the same mould with other men, and lyable to the like failures and moral Prevarications that the rest of the Sons of *Adam* are. And therefore observing how common it is for Persons

upon a lower ground to renounce their Wives, and moſt ſacredly diſclaim their Marriages; they conceive it is not impoſſible but that theſe who move in higher ſpheres, may upon ſtrong Temptations do the like. Yea, our own Hiſtory furnisheth us with an Inſtance of a great King, and one who ſwaied the *Engliſh* Scepter, who is tranſmitted to us with this blot in his Scutcheon. The Perſon I mean is *Edvv.* the fourth, who being a ſprightly and amorous Prince, was ſuddenly Contracted and Married to *Elianor Talbot* Daughter of the Earl of *Shrevvbury*, and that not only without any witneſſes ſave *Dr. Thomas Stillington* Biſhop of *Bath*, into whoſe hands the Contract was made, and who officiated at and celebrated the Marriage, but beſides the poor Doctor was ſtrictly enjoyned by the *King* to conceal it; and you may eaſily ſuppoſe the timorous Prelate would not fail in his duty to Majeſty, at leaſt ſo long as he knew the King in a condition to puniſh and avenge the Diſcovery. Now *Ed.* 4. finding thereupon admiſſion into the embraces of the Lady, and having ſatiated himſelf a while by ſecret injoyments, and withall reckoning that none could or at leaſt durſt detect by what holy ties he was bound unto her; he did ſome years after (notwithſtanding the Perſon to whom he was Affianced ſtill ſurvived) both deny what was ſo ſolemnly tranſacted in the preſence of *Almighty God between them*, and withal Married another Woman, namely my *Lady Eliz. Gray*. Your *Lordſhip* may ſee the ſtory both in *Buck's Life of Richard the Third*, pag. 16, *&c.* and in *Comines's* Hiſtory of *Levvis* the 11*th*. And without making any application of it to the preſent Caſe, I ſhall crave liberty to make theſe Remarks upon it.

I. That it is poſſible for Princes, eſpecially ſuch as have accompanied with many Women, to have weak Memories, and to forget upon what Terms they contracted their firſt Friendſhips with them. For finding how their Familiarity aroſe with others of that Sex, they may grow by degrees into a kind of perſwaſion that their Intereſt in all was eſtabliſhed upon no better terms. Or if they ſhould not be ſuppoſed ſo forgetful as this amounts,

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unto, yet the Love of change may make them ſtifle their knowledg, eſpecially when the Objects of their fresh *Amours* cannot be otherwiſe brought to entertain their flame, but with a proviſion for their own Honour.

2. That the denyals of Kings are not to be ſubſcribed unto with an implicite Faith, but that we ought to uſe the ſame diſcretion in believing or not believing what they ſay, that we eſteem our ſelves priviledged to uſe towards others in the credit which they require we ſhould give unto them. For though Princes be not lyable to be impleaded in our Courts, nor be ſubject to Penalties that tranſgreſſing Subjects are; yet ſeeing they may be guilty of the ſame facts, which would both leave a reproach upon common men, and make them obnoxious to puniſhments, it cannot rationally be expected that their bare words ſhould reſtrain the freedom of our Thoughts, or give law to our Underſtandings in the Judgement that we are to make of Caſes and Things.

3. I would obſerve, That though the Judicial Courts could not, and the Parliaments during *Edwards* Reign, would not take cogniſſance of that Kings contemning and violating the Ordinance of God, by diſclaiming his lawful Wife; yet the Righteous Judge of Heaven and Earth in a little while after animadverted ſeverely on the Offence. For not only his *two Sons*, whom he had by the Lady *Gray*, were murdered by their Uncle, but the Kingdom was tranſlated from his Family, and not only beſtowed upon the chiefeſt enemy of his Houſe, but upon one who among all that for a long ſeries before had been Rivals for the Crown, had the weakeſt Title.

4. It is not unworthy alſo of our Notice, that notwithſtanding King *Edward* denying his firſt Marriage, and aſſuming another Lady unto his Conjugal Bed; yet all this could neither prevent the future enquiry into this matter, nor the Parliaments recognizing the Marriage with *Elianor Talbot*, 1. of *Rich.* 3. And beſides the imputation of a *Bigamiſt* which is thereby ſtampt upon him to all Ages, his Children by the ſecond venture were Baſtardiſed by

by Statute, and an occaſion from thence taken to place the Scepter in the hand of *Richard*.

Fifthly, Nothing in this Declaration can preclude the *Duke* of *Monmouth*, or any other true *Engliſhman*, from enquiring (when time ſerveth) by legal and due wayes into the truth or falſhood of the Kings marriage with *Mrs. Walters*. For the D. cannot be denyed the ſame right which appertains to every perſon in the Kingdom, namely the juſtifying his own legitimacy in due courſe and form. And ſhould he chuſe to ſit down with the imputation of a Baſtard with all the other Loſſes which attend it, Yet there are thoſe in the Nation who preferring their duty to God, their Country, Themſelves, and an injured Gentleman, before a Reverence to one man, eſpecially acting under the Influence of a Popiſh Brother, will bring that whole buſineſs into an impartial examination before ſuch, where a ſingle Negative will not be allowed as a ſufficient proof to invalidate affirmative Teſtimonies, providing ſuch can be had. And ſhould that marriage hereafter be authentically proved, how ill will they be found to have deſerved both of the King and Kingdom, that have either ſurpriſed, cajol'd, or threatned his Majeſty to bring ſuch a ſlur upon his Honour and Reputation, as this Declaration will to all Ages Entail. And, my *Lord*, Is it not ſtrange, if there was never any ſuch Marriage, that *Mrs. Walters* ſhould not only when in travel with the ſaid D. but at many other times, particularly in her laſt hours, when in the Proſpect of approaching Death and enſuing Judgement, affirm it with that poſitiveneſs which ſhe did? And is it not more ſurpriſing, if there had been no ſuch Marriage, That *Dr Fuller*, late *Biſhop* of *Lincoln*, ſhould ſo often, and in *Verbo Sacerdotis*, declare to divers worthy Perſons, *That he Married them*. Nay, What ſhould byaſs the *Inkeeper* at *Liege* to make it the great Myſtery with which he entertained his *Engliſh Gueſts*, *That the Marriage was cellebrated and conſummated in his Houſe, and that both he and his Wife were eye and ear Witneſſes of it*. Moreover, if it were ſuch an *Idle Story* as the *Declaration* repreſents it, how came it

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to pass, that when some persons lately examined about the *Black Box*, declared that they had heard of such a thing as the *Kings* being Married to that *Gentlewoman*, they should be immediately commanded to withdraw, and told that this was not the business they were interrogated about. Besides, *My Lord*, as all who were abroad with his Majesty at that time, knew the Passion the king had for that person; so some of us can remember, how through immoderate love to her being reduced to a condition that his Life was dispaired of, and the late *Queen* his *Mother* recieving intelligence both of his Disease and the Cause of it, she consented to his espousing of her, rather than that he should consume and perish in his otherwise unquenchable flames. Moreover as there were few had better opportunities of being acquainted with this whole affair than my late *Lord Chancellor*, *Hide*; so I'm sure the advantages likely to accrue to his off-spring by the seclusion of the *Duke of Monmouth* from all Title to the Crown, may be judged sufficient inducements to have prevailed with him, if not to have asserted the said *Dukes Bastardy*, yet to have been silent in the case, and not to have proclaimed the Legittimacy. And yet that very Lord being in danger of an Impeachment in *Parliament* for advising and perswading the *King* to a Marriage with *Queen Katherine*, excused himself from all sinistrous ends in that affair, by affirming, *That his Majesty had a lawful Son of his own by a former Marriage* (specifying by name the *D.* of *M.*) *to succeed to his Crown and Dignity*. Now though it may be supposed that a person may sometimes lye for his Interest, yet no man can be thought to do so in order to the prejudice as well of himself as his whole Posterity. And if we believe men speaking falshoods in subserviency to their Honour and Profit; Shall we not give credit to them when they speak Truth to their own damage, and that of all those who are dear unto them? Certainly the positive Confession and Testimony of this one Person, being against the Interest of his whole Family, of more weight than the denyals of any number whatsoever, when meerly to promote their safety and advantage, or to serve the Exaltation of the Papal Cause. These are but few of the many par-

particulars I could acqnaint your *Lordship* with relating to the confirmation of a Marriage between the *King* and *Mrs. Walters*; But it is a piece of neceſſary wiſdom at this juncture to know what not to ſay, as well as to underſtand what to ſay. And to tell you plainly, I'm more a Servant and a Friend to my Country, than by pretending to plead the *Dukes* Cauſe, and to be uſeful to the Nation, to diſcover the Witneſſes which are in reſerve, or betray the farther Evidences which are to be produced when this matter ſhall come before a competent Judicature.

Sixthly, 'Tis matter of no ſmall trouble to ſuch as truly love his Majeſty, that the Kings Integrity and Honour ſhould be brought to ſtake, in a matter wherein both the preſent Age and the ſucceeding, may take occaſion to queſtion and bring into examination his Truth and ſincerity. For though it is not impoſſible but that Princes (conſidering the Temptations with which they are ſurrounded) may ſometimes through inadvertency, and at other times upon State Motives endeavour to impoſe upon the credulity, if not abuſe the Faith of their People; Yet, the veracity of a Supream Governour is of that importance to himſelf, and ſo neceſſary to the Veneration, which his People ought to maintain for him, that he is not to bring his Credit to Pawn, unleſs it be in ſuch Caſes wherein his People may, if not apologize for, yet connive at the indiſcretion and weakneſs of their Ruler, ſhould he be found to delude them. Nor hath any thing obſtructed the affairs of Princes more, and prevented their Peoples believing them when they ſpake their moſt inward thoughts, than the forfeiture of their Credit in matters wherein their Subjects relyed upon the Honour and Truth of their Word. For they who do not mean as they ſpeak when People are prepared to hear them, muſt not expect that their words ſhould be much relyed upon, when their Tongues are the true Interpreters of their minds. And let me tell your *Lordship* that this laſt Declaration hath cauſed multitudes of his Majeſties beſt Subjects to reflect upon and take a view of many of his former Declarations,

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that from them they may be furniſhed with reaſons for juſtifying themſelves in the ſuſpenſion of their aſſent to this. And I wiſh there had not been that cauſe adminiſtred by foregoing ones, which may with too many leſſen the value of the Royal Word in that bearing date the ſecond of *June*.

The firſt of this kind he ever publiſhed after he came in view of being reſtored to the Sovereignty over theſe Kingdoms, was that dated at *Breda*, the *4th.* of *April*, 1660. wherein he promiſed *Liberty to all tender Conſciences* and engaged the ſacred word of a King, *That no man ſhould be diſquieted, or called in queſtion, for differences in matter of Religion, provided they did not diſturbe the Peace of the Kingdom.* Now though I will not diſpute about the ſence wherein this Declaration was meant, nor concerning the End for which it was calculated and fram'd; yet this I may be allowed to ſay, that there are a great many of his Majeſties Liege People who have taſted dealings directly repugnant unto it, and may juſtly complain of ſome faileur in the accompliſhment of it.

'Tis true his Majeſty is not originally to be blamed that it had not the hoped for effects; but withal that *Prince* that can be over-ruld to recede from a Promiſe which contributed ſo much to his happy and peaceable Reſtoration, may be ſuppoſed capable of ſuch Impreſſions from men of ill minds, as may make him venture his Royal Word in other caſes beyond the meaſures of Juſtice. But ſeeing it were a buſineſs of too much *Fatigue* to call over all the Declarations ſince his *Majeſty* actually occupied the *British* Throne, I ſhall therefore remind your *Lordship* only of two more. Whereof the firſt is that of *January* the ſecond, 1671, wherein the *King* upon ſhutting up the *Exchequer*, Declares on the Word of a Prince, *That the reſtraint put upon payments out of the Treaſury, ſhould continue no longer than till the laſt of Decemb.* 1672. And yet the fulfilling of this is ſtill Prorogued, though it be now above *Nine Years* ſince the *Royal Word* was pledg'd for making it good.

The other that I ſhall refreſh your memory with, is that of the the *Twentieth* of *April* 1679. Wherein his Majeſty having ſhrived himſelf and craved abſolution for all paſt matters, ſolemnly declareth that he would for time to come, *Lay aſide the uſe of any ſingle Miniſtry, or private Advices, or Forreign Committees, for the general direction of his Affaires; and that he would afterwards Govern his Kingdoms by the Advice of that Counſel which he had then choſen, together with the frequent uſe of his great Council of Parliament, as being the true and antient Conſtitution of this State and Government.* Far be it from me to blame his *Majeſty* for the diſappointment of thoſe hopes which the People had ſo univerſally conceived upon that Declaration which was ſo full of ingenuity and candor, and ſo adapted to the Honour, Safety, and Intereſt both of *King* and Kingdom; but this may be ſaid without the leaſt umbrage of irreverence, that the ſame peſtilent men who were able to cauſe his Majeſty to violate ſuch a Declaration wherein he ſpake the moſt like a wiſe and good Prince that ever he did, may be alſo able by the ſame aſcendant influence to wreſt an unadviſed and bad one from him. The ſame Councils which prevailed upon him to go againſt both his Royal Word, and all the Maxims of Pollicy with which he is ſo richly endowed; may they not likewiſe be conceived to have over-rull'd him in this to ſpeak againſt his knowledge and thoſe moral Principles of Truth and Juſtice, with which when left to himſelf he appears to be imbued. Nor do I doubt but that among other things they had in proſpect to compaſs by this Declaration, they hoped to ſhut his Majeſty out of the love of his beſt Proteſtant Subjects, ſo that when brought to fall by their Traiterous Conſpiracies, his death may be at once unlamented and unrevenged. But let them not flatter themſelves, for if there be any thing falſe or unjuſt in it, we aſcribe it all to their rage againſt our Laws and our Religion, and do only complain of the Kings facility in ſuffering himſelf to be ſo openly abuſed.

Seventhly, But whereas there is one thing in the Declaration by which men of honeſt and eaſie minds, being unacquainted with the Practiſes of the world, are apt to be ſomewhat ſtartled; namely, The *Kings calling Almighty God to vvitneſs, and affirming upon the Faith of a Chriſtian, that there vvas never any Marriage, or contract of Marriage, had or made betvveen him and Mrs. Walters*; I think my ſelf obliged to lay before you the ſence and apprehenſions which wiſeſt heads have of that Proteſtation and ſolemn Appeal.

If, ſay they, neither the Eye nor Dread of God, nor the Faith of a Chriſtian, are effectual to reſtrain a perſon from Adulteries and promiſcuous Scatterings, Can we have any ſecurity that they will prevent ſuch a one from the guilt of other Crimes? He who neither trembleth, nor bluſheth to Proclaim his Uncleanneſſes to all the World, will he forbear ſins of any kind or hue out of Principle, though he may poſſibly omit them by accident, and in compliance with Intereſt?

It was a Maxime of an antient Ruler, that as Children are to be couſſened with Nuts, ſo Men are to be deluded with Aſſeverations and Oathes. And upon this occaſion they call to mind the Character faſtened upon *Charles* the *ninth* of *France*, namely, that the ſureſt Symptomes by which it was known when he ſpake falſly, was the endeavouring to confirm what he ſaid by the moſt dreadful Imprecations, and execrable Oathes. And what our own Hiſtorians leave upon the memory of his Royal Majeſties own *Grandfather* in this point, I had rather you ſhould learn from *Wilſons Hiſtory* of *King James*, than be told by me. Beſides, ſay others, who knoweth but that the King through the like Impreſſion of fear, under which he lifted up his Hand to the moſt high God at *Scone* when Crown'd in *Scotland*, may have been influenced and overaw'd to make this late Appeal and Proteſtation.

He who hath done one ſuch thing, and eſpecially with that ſolemnity and profeſſion of ſincerity wherewith he took the

Covenant; can it be otherwiſe apprehended but that he may do the like again, if there be ſufficient Cauſe for the ſame paſſion which byaſſed him againſt Knowledge and Conſcience then. Nay the utmoſt inducement that ſwayed and determined him contrary to his Judgment and Light, to Swear by the great God, in terms ſo Auguſt and awful in *Scotland*, was meerly an apprehenſion of being otherwiſe Secluded from his Right over that kingdom; but it is more than probable, that no leſs than a dread of looſing his Life, as well as three kingdoms, hath neceſſitated him to this which he hath now done. Now it is but conſidering the ſeaſons when the ſeveral Declarations pronounced firſt in Councel and at laſt publiſhed to the World, were made; and you will be ſoon convinced that they were extorted from him partly by the neceſſity of his Affaires, and partly by the frightful aſcendancy which his Brother hath obtained over him. For the firſt which we are here in the Print told of, was that made the ſixth of *January*, 1678. when the condition and poſture wherein things then ſtood, made it indiſpenſably needful that the king ſhould oblige his Brother to withdraw, and which the D. of Y. (though he knew that his ſtay here at that time, would have in all likelyhood involved his Majeſty under inextricable difficulties) refuſed to comply with, till he had wreſted that Declaration from him.

And for the ſecond, which was made alſo in Councel, *March* 3. 1678. it is obvious to every conſidering man, and demonſtrable to all the World, that it was the effect of that neceſſity which his Majeſtis Affairs had reduced him unto. For the Parliament being to meet the ſixth of that month, and it appearing by the ſeveral returns of the perſons Elected to ſit, that we were like to have a Houſe of true Engliſh Gentlemen, who would not only inſpect the late Popiſh Plot, but enquire into the miſcarriages of publick Miniſters. Hereupon as the Duke threatned to return, unleſs the king would make ſome freſh Declaration, whereby, being pronounced and repreſented as next Heir, he might

might be skriend from the angry but juſt recentments of the Nation. So divers perſons at home who knew themſelves unpardonably criminal, applyed their thoughts to find out a method, by which a miſunderſtanding might in a ſhort time ariſe between the king and his Parliament. And apprehending that the *D.* of *Y.* could not poſſibly eſcape the animadverſion of the Houſe, all the Treaſons and Crimes whereof others were only guilty in their reſpective parts and proportions, meeting in him as ſo many Lines i their Center; they accordingly by threatning to make their own compoſitions, and to lay open all thoſe matters which they conceived his Majeſty to be moſt ſolicitous to have concealed, brought the king to make that Declaration. Whereby having in effect ſignified the *D.* of *Y.* to be the next in right to ſucceed, they reckoned they had wrought him to ſuch an eſpouſal of his Brother, as muſt needs break all meaſures of fair correſpondency with his Parliament. And as this was the principal thing they aimd at, ſo by denouncing ſtill to provide for their own ſecurity, in detecting whatſoever they knew, they kept him to an adheſion to the Declaration which he had made, and thereby not only embaraſſed all his Affairs, but ſo embroiled him with the Houſe of Commons, as that in a few weeks they compaſſed the Diſſolution of the Parliament.

Having thus briefly repreſented unto your *Lordship* under what influence of neceſſity and fear, theſe Declarations were at firſt made in Councel, I need not tell you through what impreſſions by the unceſſant Importunity, and daily Hectoring of his majeſty by the Duke, now at *Windſor*, they come at laſt to be Printed and Proclaimed to the World. The king pore Gentleman, is willing to buy his Peace at any rates, and hath here ſtak't his Honour, not to ſay his Conſcience, for it? But as you know that neither Conceſſions, Declarations nor Alienations made by a Perſon in dureſs, or under threatnings, or ſwayed by apprehenſions of the hazzard of his Life, can oblige others, tho they be ſuch as are wrapt up in or concluded by him in all Caſes wherein he is ſuppoſed free; ſo in plain Engliſh, the generality

of

of the People and thoſe of the beſt ſenſe, hold themſelves no wiſe affected or preſcribed unto by theſe Declarations. For we who knew the tenour of them when they lay concealed in the Councel Books, and yet thought our ſelves at liberty to believe as our Judgments conducted us, are not likely to have our mindes altered by the bare Printing of them. But how far the Conſcience of the king is concern'd or defiled, I leave to thoſe of the *Theologick Faculty* to reſolve, only I judge that the ſame *Caſuiſtical* Divinity whereby they ſalved the Conſcience and vindicated the honor of the king in caſe the of the Covenant, and with all diſcharged him from the Obligation which it was ſuppoſed to have put upon him, may whenſoever he thinks meet, ſtand him in good ſtead, and affoord him the ſame relief in the caſe of the late Declarations.

Eightly, There is one thing further, that muſt not be omitted, becauſe it gives us amazement, and yet affords us pleaſant diverſion; namely the motive they have brought his Majeſty to alledge for his making and publiſhing this Declaration. I confeſs I could not read it without ſurpriſe and wonderful emotion. And I dare ſay, when you think ſeriouſly of it, you will find pitty ſtir in your heart to your abuſed Prince, and your bood ſwell in your Veins through indignation at ſome about him. For after the care they have ſuffered him to take for preſerving our Religion, Lives and Liberties from the deſigns of the Papiſts, by diſſolving two Parliaments, and ſo often Proroguing a third; they bring him now to publiſh this Declaration to relieve the *minds of his loving Subjects from their fears, and to prevent the ill conſequences which a belief of his having been Married to the* D. of M's. *Mother, may have in future times upon the Peace of theſe kingdoms.* A moſt proper way to extinguiſh our fears, by doing all that he can, to ſubject us hereafter to one who is the profeſſed Enemy of our eſtabliſhed Religion and Legal Government. But that your *Lordship* may the better comprehend how highly we are obliged to his majeſty for his love and tenderneſs to his People in all that they judge dear and valluable, by deſigning ſo hopeful a Succeſ-

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ſor over them; I ſhall recount ſome of thoſe many particulars from which we eſteem our ſelves capable of judging what a gracious and deſirable Prince this dear and beloved Brother is like to prove.

1. He is a Gentleman that hath renounced the Religion wherein he was not only educated and which theſe Nations profeſs, but which he had conſigned unto him ſealed with the Blood of his father, and entailed upon him and the whole *Line* by no leſs then his Grandfathers Curſe, in caſe any of old *Jame's* offſpring ſhould depart from it.

2. He hath made it his buſineſs to ſeduce his Majeſties Subjects to the papal Faith, and to enſlave them to a forraign Juriſdiction. And by his addreſſes, ſolicitations, and preferments wherewith he is able to reward ſuch mercinary ſoules as are ready to make ſale of their Religion, he hath made more converts to the Church of *Rome* than all the Engliſh *Miſſionaries* have been able to do.

3. Through the power which he hath obtained over the King, he hath procured the chiefeſt places of ſtrength in the Nation, and ſome of the greateſt Truſts as well Civil and Religious as Military, to be conferred upon known Papiſts and ſworn enemies to the Proteſtant Cauſe, and Engliſh Liberties.

4. He hath been the principal promoter of Arbitrary Government, and of making the Kings intereſt both diſtinct from and oppoſite to that of his People. And this he hath done in purſuance of Papal advice and in ſubſerviency to the Romiſh intereſt. For where the Monarch is abſolute, and the Lives and Fortunes of whole Nations are enſlaved to the will and pleaſure of one perſon; the meer wheedling of a luſtfull, weak, or inconſiderate Prince, will go a great length in the gaining vaſt multitudes to adore the Triple Crown. And for ſuch as ſhall prove ſtubborn and refractory, it is but meritoriouſly to kill them, and then convert their Lands to the uſe of the holy *Sea*.

5. It was this darling and beloved One, that Authoriſed the burning of *London*, and not only made his own *palace a* Sanctua-

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ry to the Villan's who were ſuſpected as inſtruments of that dreadful conflagration, but reſcu'd and diſcharged diverſe who were apprehended in the very Fact. And this he did partly in revenge, for as much as *London* had been both the Magazine of Strenth and Treaſure during the War with the late King; and partly to gratify his Popiſh friends by deſtroying the bulwark of the Proteſtant Religion, and the chief Receptacle of the Hereticks.

6. It was this preſumptive Heir that all along obliged his Majeſty to neglect the concerning himſelfe in favour of the Proteſtants abroad, and did ſo order it through his power over the *King*, that nevera ny forrain Alliance was made but what was abuſed to the betraying of them. And here let me call over a ſtory and perhaps a more Tragical one and accompainied with baſer Treachery, then any Hiſtory is able to acquaint you with. One *Monſeiur Rohux* a French Gentleman coming into England to treat with the *King* concerning an Alliance between his Majeſty and Forrain Proteſtants meerly for the preſervation of their Religion, and having acquainted the *Duke* of *York* with his errand, after he had in a private conference or two tranſacted with the King about it. This Royal Prince out of his wonted kindneſs to the Proteſtants and the reformed religion, cauſed *Rouveny* (Lieger Ambaſſador from France at this Court) to ſtand behind the hangings at *St. James* while he made this innocent Gentleman diſcourſe over the whole buſineſs. Upon which *Monſ. Rouveny* being obliged to acquant his maſter with it, *Monſ. Rohux* (who upon ſome intimation that the Duke had betrayed him) had withdrawn hence to Switzerland, was there ſeized by a party of French Horſe and brought to the *Baſtile*, whence after ſome times imbriſonement he was carried to the place of Excution and broken upon the Wheel.

7. It was through the *Duke* of *Yorks* means that both the firſt and ſecond Wars were commenced againſt the *Dutch*; and that in order not only to weaken the Proteſtants by their mutual deſtroying of each other, but in hope to have turned the victorious

Arms

Arms of the King upon the Hereticks at home and the patrons of English liberty.

8. It was this zealous Prince for the honour and safety of Brittain that adviced the breaking the *Tripple-League*, which was the wisest conjunction and most for the glory of the Kings Reign and the preservation of his Dominions, that ever he entered into. And this he did not only to gratify France whose Pensioner as well as whose confederate he hath been, but to leave the Protestants here naked to the attempts of the papists. For he knew that while that League continued firm, the king of *Sweden* and the *States* of *Holland* would have construed all designes upon the Protestants in England, as done against those of the same religion with themselves and in favor of whose profession they had entred into that Alliance.

6. He hath not only mantained correspondence with Forrain Princes, to the betraying the Kings councels, but hath confederated with them for the extirpation of our religion, and overthrowing our Legal Government. And besides many other evidences of this which it is not convenient to mention at present. The depositions which arrived with the Commitee of Seceresy during the Session of the late Parliament, together with *Colemans* letters and that which he wrote in the Dukes name and indeed by his command, do uncontrolably demonstrate it.

10. He was consenting to and hath cooperated in the whole Popish Plot, for both his Confessor and Secretary did with his knowledg and approbation Seal the Resolves for the Kings death.

11. It was the Duke, who, when the King had revealed the first discovery of the Hellish Romish Plot to him immediatly communicated it to Father *Beding-field*, that so the conspirators might know to how secure their papers and abscond themselves.

12. It was he who through his command over the Post Office prevented the intercepting the letters From *St. Omers* and

others

others Forraign *Seminaries*, whereby that whole damnable conſpiracy would have been more fully detected.

13. He employed his own Dutcheſs to tranſport ſeveral of the Traitors to Holland, that ſo they might ſcape the ſearch that was made for them and the puniſhment which they had deſerved.

14. It was he who ſuborned, encouraged and rewarded the vileſt Miſcreants to frame and ſwear a Plot againſt the Proteſtants; and this he did to beget a disbelif of the Popiſh conſpiracy and in order to deſtroy ſuch of the Nobility and Gentry as were the chief aſſertors of the Reformed Religion and Engliſh liberty.

15. It was he who adviſed the ſeveral prorogations and diſſolutions of Parliaments, whenſoever they were either conſidering the bleeding condition of the Proteſtant intereſt abroad or ſupplicating the King to an Alliance with Proteſtants Princes for its protection and preſervation.

16. It was he in whoſe favour the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament was procured, and who hath prevented the ſitting of this after Eight ſeveral times appointed for their meeting. And all to hinder the Trial of the Traitorous *Lords* in the Tower, and to obſtruct the further ſearch into the many Helliſh Plots wherein himſelf and the reſt of the Papiſts are engaged, for the ſubverſion of our Religion and Laws, and the deſtruction of the lives of his Majeſty and People. And how much he hath leſſened his Majeſties intereſt in the hearts of his Subjects, and weakned their confidence in his Royal word, by obliging him to treat this Parliament as he hath done, ſeeing in his ſpeech to both Houſes *March* 6. 1678. he had ſo ſolemnly declared his reſolution to meet his people frequently in Parliaments; and into what ſtraits and wants, they have thereby alſo reduced him, I ſhall rather leave your *Lordſhip* ſilently to conſider, than take upon me at this time to unfold.

17. It was he who after he had for ſo many years promoted the aiding and ſuccoring of *France* with Engliſh Forces

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till that aſpiring Prince was aſcended to a power and greatneſs not to be in any probability withſtood or controlled, did at laſt engage his *Majeſtie* in making the general peace which is a thing ſo highly prejudicial to all *Europe*, in the unavoidable conſequences of it.

18. It was he who countenanced and enlivened the late Traitorous Combination of Prentices and Ruffians, and who together with the Lords in the Tower Iſſued out the Mony both for the expences of their entertainments, and for the providing them with Arms to diſtrube the peace of the Citty and Kingdom, and aſſault the Houſes and Lives of his *Majeſties* Liege People.

19. It is he who hath enrolled and ſecretly muſtred men in all Counties of England, and who beſides the Engliſh Papiſts whom at this time he hath called from all parts of the Nation, to London, is alſo provided of a great number of *Iriſh* who formerly waſhed their hands in the blood of Proteſtants or are the genuine off-ſpring of thoſe that did. Now being thus furniſhed and environed he is reſolved (unleſs God in his providence miraculouſly interpoſe) to put all to a venture and play over the ſame game in *England* that was heretofore acted in *Ireland*.

20. It is he who cheriſheth in his boſome and exalteth to the higheſt Truſts ſuch as *Coll. Worden*, who betrayed his Majeſties ſecrets to the uſurping powers, particularly to *Mr. Scot*. Nay himſelf may be charged with many things in thoſe times whereby we may apparently diſcover both his treachery to his Majeſty, and his ambition to have uſurped the Crown from him. For when a Loyal party of the Engliſh Fleet had eſpouſed his Majeſties Right and Title againſt the enemies of his Crown and perſon, the Duke who being then aboard ſhould have encouraged and ventured his Life in conjunction with them, did inſtead thereof by a moſt ſhameful and diſloyal deſerting of them both diſcourage them in their fidelity and ſo far as in him lay obleige them to compound for themſelves with a cluſion of his

Majeſties

Majesties intrest. Yea besides this, when the *Scots* were treating the King at *Breda* in order to the establishing him in the Throne of that Kingdom, the D. of Y. was at that very time transacting with such as remained faithful to the Kings Title here, that they would renounce his elder Brother and chuse him for their Soveraign. Nor do I believe that his Majesty can forget the occasion and design upon which the Duke forsooke him at *Bruges* and withdrew to Holland, so that the King was necessitated not only to command him upon his allagience to return, but was forced to send the *Duke* of *Ormond* and some other persons of quality to threaten as well as perswade him, before he would goe back.

21. It is he who not thinking the declaration enough to facilitate his ascention to the Throne, or to secure him from resistance in the attempts he purposeth upon our Lives and Liberties, hath been and still is endeavouring to be admitted and let further into the Government, and accordingly hath accosted the King by my *Lord Duras* in that matter. This is the more surprising forasmuch as one would think that it is not possible he should be further let into the Government having *Berwick, Hull, Langer point, Sherenes, Portsmouth, and the Magazine of the Tower* (*Legg being now Master of the* Ordnance) in the hands of his sworn vassals and creatures; and having also the superintendency of all civil affaires in him, unless by taking the Scepter actually into his hand, he should confine the King to a Country House and and an *Annual* pension. And his partisans about the Town talk of no less than the having the Duke Crown'd during the Kings life, as *Henry*, the 2. (tho upon far different reasons) was Crowned in coniunction with King *Stephen*. And I wish that what the Brother of the King of *portugal* hath of late years, effected against his Prince, did not awaken our jealousie to fear that the same may beattempted by a dispensation from the infallible chair elsewhere. However they have taken care should they accomplish this designe that they

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may not be obliged to entetain our *Katherine*, as they in *Portugal* did the *French Madam* Married to *Alphonso*, for as much as the beſt part of the portion with our Princeſs, namely *Tangeir*, is through the courage and conduct of my Lord *Incheqine* one of the Dukes greateſt confidents as good as diſpoſed of. But ſhould they proceed in this deſign againſt his Majeſty, it becomes all his Majeſties good Subjects to endeavour as one man the reſcuing him from under their power, ſeeing the very deſignment of ſuch a thing is a Treaſon of ſo high a Nature againſt the King that we ſhould be wanting in our Allegiance, ſhould we not apply our ſelves in the uſe of all poſſible wayes and meanes to puniſh and aveng as well as prevent the excution of it. Now my Lord theſe are but few of the many particulars by which we are ſufficently enlightned concerning the *Duke* of *York*, and we may abundantly learn from theſe how much we are indebted to his Majeſty for his Grace, Favour, and care in appointing ſuch a one after him to ſucceed over us? Do not all our fears hereupon immediately vaniſh and die; and Hope, Joy, and Gladneſs revive in our hearts on this proſpect which the King hath given us of ſo good an Heir? But poor Prince, we at once compaſſionate and forgive him, knowing that this proceeds not from his inclination, but that he hath been hurried and forced to it. Nor do we need any further aſſurance of the inward propenſions of his *Majeſties* heart, and the diſlike his breaſt is filled with for what he hath done, but the endeavoures which he uſed (under daily and manifold importunities to the contrary) to have avoided it, and the ſadneſs which appears in his countenance ſince overawed to publiſh this Declaration. And as for the Duke of Y. let him not deceive himſelf, for as he may percieve by this that we fully underſtand him and know the kindneſs he entertains for us, ſo, we are prepared for him and reſolved to return unto him and his in the kind they intend to bring. For having both Divine and Humane Laws on our ſide, we

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are reſolved neither to be Papiſts nor Slaves, and conſequently not to be ſubjects to him who hath vowed either utterly to extirpate us, or to reduce and compell us to be both the one and the other.

Laſtly; For the Iſſuing of all this Controverſy concerning whoſe Right it is to ſucceed next after his Majeſty, men here about the town accuſtomed to diſcourſe, think thatthere need but two propoſals, and thoſe very rational ones to be made. The *firſt* is that the Parliament being admitted to ſit, they may examine this Affair, whereof they alone are competent Judges. Whatſoever Declarations may otherwiſe ſignifie, yet it is a principle which can never be oblitterated out of the minds of *Engliſh Men*, That they are neither binding Laws nor can alienate or extinguiſh the Rights of any. Shall the Son of a common Perſon be allowed the Liberty to juſtify his Legittimacy, in caſe his Father prove ſo forgetful, or ſo unnatural as to diſclaim him; And ſhall the *Duke* of *Monmouth* meerly by being the Son of a King, forſeit this juſt and univerſe Priviledge. If his *Majeſty* was indeed Married to that diſcountenanced Gentlemans Mother, he is by our Laws the Son of the *Kingdom*, as well as the Son of *King Charles*. And therefore it is neceſſary as well as fit, that the People ſhould in all due and Legal ways underſtand whether they have any Intereſt or not in him, before they be commanded to renounce him, or reſign it. All therefore we deſire is, that this matter may be impartially and fairly heard, and that before thoſe who alone have right to be Judges of it, and as no other courſe but this can ſatisfy the minds of People; ſo it cannot be expected that upon the Authority of a Declaration, eſpecially gotten as this was, they ſhould ſacrifice the ſhare (which for any thing yet appears) they have in him as their apparent Prince and next Heir to the Throne. And unleſs this be obtained; the People will undoubtedly think their own Rights invaded, whatſoever the ſaid *Duke* judgeth of his.

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The *second* thing we would humbly beg, as well as propoſe is, That the Parliament being called to ſit, the *Duck* of *York* may be legally tryed for his manifold Treaſons and Conſpiracies againſt the King and kingdom. For if he be innocent, and that the Right of Succeſſion be his, all Men will quietly acquieſſe under him but if he ſhould prove guilty (as we no wiſe queſtion but that he will) ſhall his Treaſons when a Subject qualifie him to be a King, and Pave the way for his riſing to the Throne. According to all Equity as well as Law, he ought firſt to juſtifie himſelf from all traitrous attempts and Acts againſt the King and People, before he be allowed to have his claim heard concerning any title that in time to come he may have to rule over theſe Nations. I ſhall ſubjoyn no more at preſent, ſave that I am,

My Lord,

London,

Your moſt obedient

June the 10*th.*

Servant.

1610.